

WILSON ON BOSSES AND POLITICAL MACHINES

Praises Commission Form of Government and Says We Must Unify to Control.

MISGOVERNMENT OF CITIES

Most of the Best Governed Are Abroad and the Worst in This Country.

Woodrow Wilson, Democratic candidate for President, is of the opinion that "the hopes of America have been disappointed in American city government." He says that most of the well governed cities are abroad and we have here many of the worst governed cities.

Taking up this subject as well as others, Gov. Wilson discussed them at length in yesterday's *Evening Post*. After considering the misgovernment of American cities the Democratic candidate praises the commission form of government. The evils of machine control is dealt with and there is reference to the necessity for "responsible action in response, not to special interests or to parts of public opinion, but to the whole opinion of the nation." In characteristic fashion Gov. Wilson refers to the political boss as one of the "inevitable fruits of American civilization. He cannot be put out of business as our city governments are organized, Gov. Wilson says, and the question is, 'Are you going to boss your governments or are you going to make it necessary that somebody else should boss them?' On the subject of misgovernment Gov. Wilson says:

"The hopes of America have been disappointed in American city government. There was a time—you do not have to be very old to remember it—when there was a universal complacency in America about our success in matters of political organization. No American would admit that anywhere in the world there were to be found governments organized more successfully than they were organized in America. But we have got over that complacency. We have had to admit the fact that most of the well governed cities of the world are on the other side of the water and that many of the worst governed cities of the civilized world are on this side of the water."

"I take it that the problem that we have set ourselves is the problem of responsibility. We want governments which respond to public opinion and we have not been able to get them. The explanation you can hang on your wall if you choose if you will only take the pains to buy a copy of that old cartoon by Tom Nast which represented the Tweed ring in New York as an actual circle of men, each with his thumb to his neighbor, the title of the picture being 'Tweed Me.' We have invented or stumbled upon a 'Tweed Me' system of government and what we are in search of is a 'Tweed Me' system of government."

"We cannot fix responsibility because responsibility depends upon certain things. It depends upon obviousness in the process of government. It depends upon intelligibility in its methods. It depends upon openness in the councils of governments."

Of the machine and the boss Gov. Wilson said:

"We want to unify in order to control. I do not understand the reasoning of those persons who say that unification of this sort is undemocratic. I do not know anything that is undemocratic except that which prevents the people from controlling. And I stand for the proposition that unification that secures control by public opinion is fundamentally and radically democratic. I do not have to argue that. It is too obvious."

"The machine is in one sense an essentially un-American thing, inasmuch as it is in many of its aspects a secret and despotic thing, but I cannot agree that it was not a natural growth of American civilization. It has got to have the machine under present conditions or go out of business. I do not mean that we have got to have a corrupt machine, but we have got to have a machine, an organization, an organization outside of this complicated piece of machinery, whose single command shall bring order out of chaos, whose united will shall unify and control the governments we have set up."

"The American boss is one of the most characteristic and inevitable fruits of American politics. You cannot put him out of business. He is not a parasite. He is at present organized. You can get disgusted with a particular boss, and you can put that one out of business, for you can see to it that some one more honest or more in accord with your principles takes his place; but whatever the kind of boss, there will be a boss. That is the reason why we have no political idealism or organization and machinery in this country which exists nowhere else. No where else has it been made absolutely necessary that it should exist."

"You have, therefore, to choose. Are you going to boss your governments or are you going to make it necessary that somebody else should boss them? They have got to be superintended, they have got to be unified and coordinated of purpose, and the choice is with us as to the source from which those forces will come, because we know that they do not stop with the machine. What troubles us is not that the machine controls the action of our government so much as that we see shadowy shapes behind the machine."

"But when I know that these men may be in the pay of those who are working for their own profit and special interest, and who do not care a peppercorn for the general interests of society, I know that the most dangerous oligarchy that could possibly be set up has been set up in the United States."

"How do you explain it that there is no politics between machines? How do you explain the fact that the same men often give money both to the Democratic and to the Republican machines? Why it all goes back to that absolutely true but cynical remark attributed to a politician in New York city, who said, 'There ain't no politics in politics.' Machines are not divided by principle, they are divided by opportunity."

"I want you to distinguish, as I try to distinguish in my own thoughts, between the machine and party organization. They are absolutely different things. A machine is a little coterie of capable and designing men who are using the party organization for their own individual purposes. No man should be ignorant or stupid or unjust enough to bring into condemnation the legitimate organization of our great parties, but every man should be intelligent enough to know that those organizations constantly stand in danger of being controlled by a machine, and that the machine in its turn is controlled and employed by those who do not appear upon a political form at all. This is the beast and there is the jungle."

Gov. Wilson believed in concentrating



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authority in a few men and holding them responsible. Speaking of the Walsh bill, which gave any city in New Jersey the right to establish a commission form of government, Gov. Wilson said:

"Candidates are not elected by pluralities, but are elected by majorities. Necessarily if one man of two is elected he must be elected by a majority—a majority of those who vote. Under the New Jersey plan when there is a vote on the adoption of the commission plan of government at least 30 per cent. of the registered voters of the city must vote in the affirmative in order to adopt it. We have thus tried to avoid the domination of minorities and make everything operative by the majority of votes."

"I am expounding a thing which applies to all conditions of American political life. The thing we are looking for in city government is the thing we are looking for in every kind of government in America. The ways of finding it are not the same, but the quest is the same. We are seeking for responsible action in response not to special interests or to parts of public opinion but to the whole opinion of the nation. We are seeking to base it upon the judgment of common men. The human race is not to be saved by a remnant, the human race is not to be saved by a few instructed persons; it is to be saved by the consciences and purposes of common men. If you cannot carry the instinct of the common man with you then you have done nothing to increase the forces or to enhance the hopes of the nation."

"Some 207 cities in the United States have adopted commission government and no city that has ever adopted it, so far as I know, has gone back to the old form. One may ask, is there nothing more in commission government than concentration of organization? There is nothing more. That is the beauty of it. There doesn't have to be anything more. We say to the five men who are elected, 'The way the government under you is constituted is nothing to us. The number of people that are employed by you is nothing to us—at present. The way you organize your business, but we are going to hold you responsible for every bit of it, and if it does not work out, then we are going to try somebody else, until we find somebody who knows how to make it work.'"

"Some of the cities in New Jersey were not particularly fortunate in their choice of commissioners, but as soon as those commissioners got to work it was shown which cities were fortunate and there is the recall. Under our system of commission government, there is a great advantage in having an opportunity to identify your undesirable commission."

"I have heard men say, 'Do you think that a government so concentrated and simple as that would be desirable in a great city with a great teeming population?' I don't see the point of that question. What has the number of people got to do with it? Is a million eyes that are watched by a million eyes than when it is watched by a thousand eyes? The size of the city seems to me to have only this to do with it, that it will be a much more severe test, and you will have to try to get big men, and if they don't succeed, you must try again until you have got the biggest men that you have, and then think of the distinction which will come to a city which is governed by its best men."

Summing up, Gov. Wilson said:

"Now, when we come to ask ourselves what we want in order to secure responsibility, what our object is, I hope I have sufficiently laid the foundation to make it evident what the building must be. We want to unify in order to control. I do not understand persons who say that unification, centralization, is undemocratic. As I have already stated, nothing seems to prevent the people from controlling. Anything that secures control for public opinion is fundamentally and radically democratic."

"Why not do what several Ameri-

can cities have tried, and concentrate all your power in one man—the Mayor? For the very good reason that very often a single man has too many ambitions to serve, and a single man does not debate things with himself, out loud. But, make it five or six men, or a dozen men, and unite them in authority. They cannot do anything without doing it together. They won't combine to serve the interests of any one of them, or if they do combine, they will combine after a debate, at which you have been the audience. Publicity added to shared authority, to authority which is unified without being put in one person, is the key to the simplification of government."

CHAMP CLARK TO TAKE THE STUMP FOR WILSON

Continued from First Page.

I don't want to be rude, but there are some things I won't talk about."

"What legislation pending in Congress did you discuss with the Governor?"

"You ask Gov. Wilson about that."

"Will you give us your ideas about public utility campaign contributions?"

"Well, didn't the House pass a law on the subject? Why don't you read the law?"

Mr. Clark was very much irritated at all questions, brought his hand down on his chair, whittled viciously at the toothpick and from time to time turned for approval to his words to a group of curiosity seekers who had wedged themselves around him. They enjoyed his answers hugely and laughed approvingly.

"Will you comment on the Lorimer case?"

"That has nothing to do with politics in a national sense at Sea Girt."

"Oh, I guess he's been unseated by this time. I don't know. The Speaker of the House has plenty to do to attend to the business of the House without musing over there a half dozen times since Christmas."

"What do you think of the Bull Moose movement?"

"Don't know a thing in the world about it."

"Well, how will it come out in the Ninth Missouri district?"

"It is my impression that it will be nil, if you know what that means. Nearly every man, woman and child in the district can read and write. They know their own mind and will not be stampeded."

"What do you think of the platform?"

"I think it is a very good platform. I am not going to discuss it until I discuss it in a speech."

"You tell us where that speech will be delivered?"

"I don't know. I want to tell you something, you ought to know it without being told—there is not a busier man on the earth than the Speaker of the House of Representatives at this season of legislation. I have not had time to study that platform. I read it when it was sent to me three or four days before it was adopted. I put it away to study it like I would study any other thing. Whenever I do I will express my opinion about it. It's always happened that a campaign reduces itself to two or three issues, no matter how many different planks there are in the platform."

"When do you think the House will adjourn?"

"As soon as the Senate takes up the Archibald case. I think it will be late in August before the House adjourns."

"What do you think the prospects are for retaining the increase in the Democratic majority in the House?"

"Why, the House always goes with the President."

"There is some chance that the Senate will be Democratic too, is there not?"

"That depends on which way the cat jumps."

The interview terminated when the Governor introduced the Speaker to Mrs. Wilson, who came out on the veranda with him. Mrs. Wilson regretted that she had not been at home to receive the Speaker. She was talking to him when

he turned away with: "Governor, there is something else."

The two men went around the corner of the veranda and talked for ten minutes more. At the end of that time Mr. Clark left for his automobile ride after being photographed with the Governor. Both men shook hands heartily in parting.

Robert S. Hudspeth, national committeeman from New Jersey, and Joseph Daniels of North Carolina met the Governor this morning and received in full his suggestions for the Democratic National Committee meeting on Monday at Chicago. Mr. Daniels, Mr. Hudspeth and William F. McCombs, who was also here with others, will leave on a limited for Chicago to-day is that a man like Joseph F. Davies of Wisconsin will be secretary. Several others are mentioned for the job, but never a convert.

He is a great outdoor man, fond of golfing, walking and motoring. He has not had time to do any of these except motoring, which he has only on business. He is a man accustomed to regular hours, regular meals, and he has had none of these. His work has begun around 8 o'clock in the morning and has lasted usually until after midnight. An attempt will be made this coming week to systematize his tasks, to give him a breathing spell now and then.

Gov. Dix's Summer Schedule.

ALBANY, July 12.—Tuesdays and Wednesdays of each week will be the summer schedule for Gov. Dix at the Executive mansion. It was announced today that the Governor will spend the remainder of his time at his summer home at Thompson.

WILL TRY TO DOWN MURPHY IN THE STATE

Senator Roosevelt, Boss Insurgent, Organizing Empire State Democracy.

WANT NO MEN OF WAX

General Call Sent Out for Organization at Hotel Belmont Next Wednesday.

To the several movements which have been formed in the last year having for their purpose the reorganization of the Democratic party in the State another has been added. The promoter is Senator Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was mainly responsible for the defeat of Charles F. Murphy's scheme to send William F. Sheehan to the United States Senate. The new insurgent organization, which will be Statewide in its membership, will have for one of its first objects the undermining of the domination which Charles F. Murphy now has over the Democratic party in this State.

The movement is to be known as the Empire State Democracy and those who are behind it have already had a preliminary meeting and have formed a committee to plan for banding together under this name the independent Democrats of the State. The chairman of this provisional committee is Senator Roosevelt, who has called a meeting to be held at the Hotel Belmont next Wednesday night to take the preliminary steps to form a permanent and concrete organization. Senator Roosevelt has sent a letter to independent Democrats in which he says:

After the nomination of Gov. Wilson at Baltimore an informal meeting of Democrats was held in New York city to discuss the coming Presidential campaign and the question of the leadership and principles of the Democratic party in the State of New York. It was the unanimous sentiment that the present methods of leadership in this State are utterly destructive of future party unity and success; that unless the present stupidity, arrogance and selfishness give way to an intelligent regeneration of the Democracy a State ticket capable of being elected will not be nominated and the success of Wilson and Marshall will be placed in jeopardy."

It was therefore decided that the time is at hand for Democrats to organize permanently for the purpose of securing intelligent and representative leadership for their party and of doing all that is possible to elect Wilson and Marshall.

It is proposed that this organization be the Empire State Democracy. It is proposed that every effort be used, first, to elect delegates to the State convention who will be representative of their districts and not "men of wax," and further to nominate a State and legislative ticket which will truly represent the Democrats of the State.

SHUTS OUT WILSON IN PENN.

Same Electors on Republican and Third Party Ballots.

PHILADELPHIA, July 13.—Following a conference of Roosevelt followers from the eastern counties of the State lasting nearly seven hours at the Bellevue-Stratford William Flinn of Pittsburgh, head of the Roosevelt third party in Pennsylvania, announced that it had been tentatively decided to place the same set of electors on both the Republican and third party tickets for the November election, binding the electors to cast their votes in favor of the Roosevelt ticket. Flinn's plan amounts to fusion between the Republican and prospective third party electors, who would be fully registered on the two tickets which would count against that received by the Democratic elector. The plan, Flinn announced after the conference, would be fully registered and explained at the Bull Moose convention in Chicago on August 5.

The consensus of opinion seems to be for the placing of the same set of electors on both the Republican and third party tickets, as will agree to accept binding instructions in accordance with the vote cast for Taft and Roosevelt in their respective columns," said Flinn. "This will render it impossible for the Democratic party to obtain the electoral vote of Pennsylvania in the November election. It is a plan, Flinn said, to be decided upon by the delegates at the Chicago convention have met in that city and formed an organization."

UNION LEAGUE ROW GROWS.

Meeting of Club May Instruct Political Committee.

The rumormongers between the Taft and Roosevelt men in the Union League Club is likely to cause a bad split in the club. The political committee, which is controlled by Roosevelt supporters, does not intend, it appears, to carry out the instructions of the board of governors to have an election sign put up with the names of Taft and Sherman, and the Taft supporters will insist that a general meeting of the club be called to settle the controversy if the sign is much further delay on the part of the political committee.

Ex-Senator Stephen M. Griswold, a long Republican and formerly prominent in the affairs of the party, said yesterday that he had voted the Republican ticket for about fifty years and had no intention to go back on its regular nominee, Judge J. W. Bryan of Bremerton, who was one of the most persistent advocates of the third ticket a few days ago, filed as a Republican candidate for Congress at large. A State conference of Roosevelt leaders has been called to meet at Seattle next Monday. It is planned to follow Senator Poindexter's instructions by naming only the Roosevelt electoral ticket and permit insurgents to participate in regular Republican primaries.

Rufus R. Wilson has announced his intention to support Woodrow Wilson and join with the Democrats in the primaries. Wilson is advocating active participation in the Democratic movement by those insurgents who will not support Taft. His importance arises from the fact that he is organized and managed Senator Poindexter's campaign two years ago and was the original organizer of the Roosevelt movement in this State last spring.

At the same time a practical movement has been started to urge the demands of the radical element for a third party ticket. Steps have been taken for presenting these demands to the conference Monday, when leaders of the Poindexter faction hope to choose the third party movement. A large percentage of Roosevelt-Poindexter leaders are candidates for State and county offices and they see danger in a third party movement. They prefer to remain within the Republican primaries and shout for Roosevelt electors by claiming that both the Aberdeen and Chicago conventions were tainted. In the meantime regular Republican organizations are perfecting their plans for the fall fight. Almost all of the candidates for Congress will canvass as progressives.

Washington will elect two Congressmen at large and three by districts. The progressives hope to control the nomination for Governor, but have not selected their candidate. Gov. Hay, who is for Taft, declares the Republican party in Washington is progressive and that there is no chance for a third party. He seeks renomination.

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Many Illinois Roosevelt Men Will Vote for Democrat.

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Regularly \$27.50	\$30.00	\$37.50

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NO THIRD PARTY IN WASH.

Roosevelt Leaders Probably Will Centre Fight on Electors.

TACOMA, Wash., July 13.—That insurgent Republicans either have abandoned the plan of third party or are prepared to run both as regular Republican candidates and as aspirants for nomination before the new party convention was indicated to-day by filings for nominations at the September primaries.

To-day was the first day for filing declarations of candidacy. From different parts of the State come reports that insurgent leaders who aspire to office were among the first to flock to offices of county auditors to file.

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